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ABSTRACT

Intended to inform junior high school students about the history of the Winnebago tribe and how that history was influenced by contact with the European culture, the curriculum unit focuses on four general areas: origin and removals and migration of the tribe, world view and history, social organizations, and economy. The unit begins with a short teacher outline including the objective, materials, activities, and evaluation methods for each general area. The unit contains materials for each area including essays for students to read or teachers to lecture, quizzes, maps, teacher background information, student activities, and a brief bibliography. Among the subjects covered are the early home of the Winnebagoes, the Winnebago creation story, social structure, the political system of the tribe, half tribes and clans, economic life before 1833 in Wisconsin and after 1855 in Minnesota, the contemporary economic life in Nebraska, and food sources. (SB)

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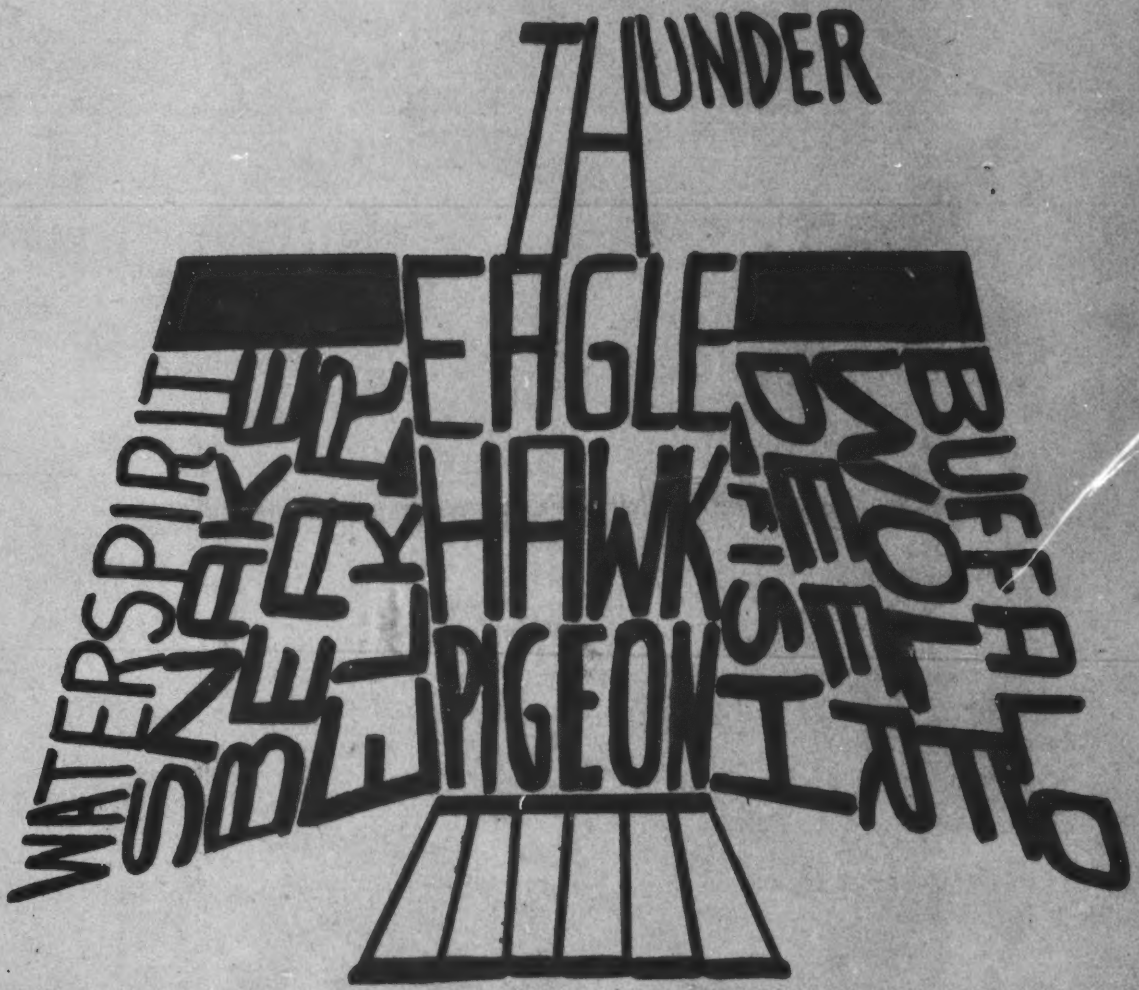
THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE AND THE NEBRASKA LANDSCAPE



a junior high unit written by Mel Berka

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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE AND THE NEBRASKA LANDSCAPE

(Junior High Unit)

Written by Mel Berka

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section I. Origin and Removals/Migration of Winnebago Tribe 5
Essay 1 5
Origin and Migration Quiz 7
Essay 2 9
Map I–The Early Home of the Winnebagoes 15
Map II–Lead Mines on the Upper Mississippi River 16
Map III 17
Map IV–State of South Dakota 18
Map V–Thurston County, Nebraska 19
Map VI 20

Section II. World View and History 21
Teacher Background 21
The Winnebago Creation Story 24

Section III. Social Organization 27
Teacher Introduction 27
Winnebago Social Organization: Its Ideology 27
Teacher Material 29
Matching Quiz 30
Social Organization Quiz 31
Nineteenth Century Clan Organization 32
Those From Above Clans 32
Those From Below Clans 35
Writer's Comment 40
Activities for Students 41

Section IV. Economy 42
Teacher Introduction 42
Student Questions on the Economy 43
Winnebago Economic Life Prior to 1833 in Wisconsin 44
The Economy of the Winnebago at Blue Earth: 1855 49
The Nebraska Winnebago Economy [in Wisconsin] 52
A Contemporary Glance at the Winnebago Economy 54

Bibliography 55

The purpose of this unit is to inform junior high students about the history of the Winnebago tribe and how that history was influenced by contact with the European culture.

SECTION I. ORIGIN AND REMOVALS/MIGRATION OF WINNEBAGO TRIBE

Objectives

To inform students of the abuses inflicted upon the Winnebago Indians as a result of forced removals by the Europeans each time they wanted more or better land.

To become aware of specific reasons why the "whites" broke treaties with the Indians and how they eased their consciences with a token payment that often was not paid before the next removal.

To develop a geographical sense of the origin and permanent relocation of the Winnebago tribe.

Material

1. Helen Hunt Jackson. *A Century of Dishonor*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965, Chapter 7.
2. Paul Radin. *The Winnebago Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, pp. 1–17.
3. Felix White tape (Number 1), approximately the first 15 minutes.
4. Map, page 10 in *Winnebago Stories* by LaMere and Shinn.
5. Map of the United States showing state boundaries.
6. D. Powell. "A Protest Against Indian Removals," *Ideas in Conflict*, pp. 73–76.
7. Angie Debo. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. Good general background.

Activities

Have the students read "Origin and Removal" section of student packet (or the teacher could lecture that material to them if they are not first-rate readers).

Ask them to study the regional maps of the origin of the Winnebago beginning in Wisconsin in 1934 and their removals to Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, and finally to Nebraska.

Trace on a map of the United States the route of migration using a different colored crayon to indicate each removal. Prepare a legend on the map reflecting these removals and the dates of the treaties that affected them. Provisions of treaties could be included (optional).

View Felix White Sr. Tape Number 1 on Origin and Migration for reinforcement.

Draw a large map of the United States on poster board and trace the migratory routes of the Pawnee, Omaha, Otoe, Western and Eastern Sioux, and Winnebago tribes.

Distribute or read the pamphlet entitled "A Protest Against Indian Removal" by G. W. Manypenny. (Enclosed)

Discuss with the students the five or more removals suffered by the Winnebago people. What do they think the effect would be on their own morals, values, life-styles, etc.? Have them look at the different kinds of land and environments in which they settled. Compare this with the forced resettlements of other people.

Administer the enclosed quiz.

SECTION II. WORLD VIEW AND HISTORY

Objectives

To familiarize students with various "creation stories" of our world and to respect the beliefs of others, no matter how very different they might be from those associated with western culture.

To develop an understanding of man's need for a world view, or explanation of the universe and his place in it, and to show how the world view merges into history for the Winnebago.

To help the students discover that much learning (socialization) occurs by relating to the actions of others through story telling.

Material

1. Paul Radin. *The Road of Life and Death*, pp. 13–34 (enclosed).
2. Felix White tape (Number 4).
3. Paul Radin. *The Winnebago Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, Chapter XI.
4. A copy of the Christian *Bible* (optional).
5. Kathleen Danker and Felix White Sr. *The Hollow of Echoes.* Lincoln: Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, 1978. (Trickster tales.)

Activities

Read aloud to the class the Christian account of how our world was created. Compare this account with the theory of evolution as developed by Darwin (you may wish to look up Darwin or the Theory of Evolution in a standard encyclopedia). Finally, distribute the handout describing the Winnebago theory of how the world was created. (Copy enclosed.) Discuss how such a view of creation would affect one's view of history.

View Felix White Tape Number 4. (Note: Before viewing the tape, instruct the students to have paper and pencil ready and to list *at least two* questions for discussion at the end of the tape.)

Evaluation (at teacher's discretion)

Expect the students to retell the Winnebago origin myth and to speculate about what it meant to the Winnebago sense of history.

SECTION III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Objectives

To understand and appreciate the order and efficiency that results from specialization, division of labor, and cooperation of members of a society.

Material

1. Paul Radin. *The Winnebago Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, Chapter II.
2. Xeroxed copy of excerpts from Radin's book showing the two major phratries and their clan structure.
3. A chart showing suggested form for Activity 1.
4. Matching exercise to assess results of Activity 1.

Activities

Make a chart showing the functions each clan was *expected* to perform and those actions *not expected* of them. (Suggested copy enclosed.)

Have the students complete the Matching Quiz with or without notes to assess Activity 1 above.

Evaluation

Work done on chart (hand-in assignment).

Matching Quiz.

SECTION IV. ECONOMY

Pre-contact vs. Post-contact

Objectives

To investigate the influence on the Winnebagoes of the *direct* contact with the white man and of other Indian tribes as they were forced to unite in the face of the advancing European culture.

To develop an appreciation of the pre-contact Indian culture and an awareness of their struggle to adapt to or appropriate the useable from the white man's culture.

Material

Pre-contact

1. Paul Radin. *The Winnebago Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, pp. 61–65 and 66–68 (copy enclosed).

2. Felix White material on the economy.

Post-contact

3. Helen Hunt Jackson. *A Century of Dishonor.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965.

TEACHER ANSWER KEY

Origin and Migration Quiz

1. French
2. valuable fur trade
3. Green Bay – Wisconsin
4. lead
5. neutral ground
6. Sioux – Chippewa
7. Blue Earth
8. Due to the "Sioux Outbreak" whites clamored for the removal of all Indians from Minnesota.
9. Thompson – South Dakota
10. Sioux
11. Omaha

Matching Quiz

1. I
2. D
3. M
4. A
5. E
6. B
7. F
8. N
9. G
10. R
11. P
12. O
13. L
14. J
15. S

SECTION I. ORIGIN AND REMOVALS/MIGRATION OF WINNEBAGO TRIBE

Essay 1

The following is taken from George W. Manypenny's treatise against Indian removals called *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark, 1880), pp. 74–76.

† † † † †

The Winnebagoes, not by reason of anything done by them, but because of the massacre of the whites by the Sioux in Minnesota, in 1862, and the excited feeling growing out of that sad affair, were compelled to leave their reservation in that state. . . . They had no previous warning, and remonstrated against this act of injustice, but their protest was unheeded. They were . . . taken on boats, and carried down the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Crow Creek. All were dissatisfied with their treatment on the journey, and their location at Crow Creek. Much sickness prevailed, and many died. They were living in Minnesota in peace and quiet, and had been so for years. They had made considerable advancement in civilization. Many of them had farms and houses, and had acquired habits of industry and economy. . . . It is said that at the time of their forcible removal they were supplied with grain, stock, implements of husbandry, etc., most of which were stolen or destroyed, since they were unable to take their property with them. Little Hill, a Winnebago chief, thus told the story at Dakota City, Nebraska, to a member of the joint committee of Congress, charged with the investigation of Indian affairs in 1865. The chief said:

> You are one of our friends, as it appears. We are very glad to meet you here. . . . And we will tell you something about how we have lived for the four years past. . . . Formerly I did not live as I now do. We used to live in Minnesota. While we lived in Minnesota we used to live in good houses, and always took our Great Father's advice, and did whatever he told us to do. We used to farm and raise a crop of all we wanted every year. While we lived there we had teams of our own. Each family had a span of horses or oxen to work, and had plenty of ponies; now we have nothing. While we lived in Minnesota another tribe of Indians committed depredations against the whites, and then we were compelled to leave Minnesota. We did not think we would be removed from Minnesota, never expected to leave; and we were compelled to leave so suddenly that we were not prepared; not many could sell their ponies and things they had. The superintendent of the farm for the Winnebagoes was to take care of the ponies we left there, and bring them on to where we went, but he only brought to Crow Creek about fifty, and the rest we do not know what became of them. Most all of us had put in our crops that spring before we left, and we had to go and leave everything but our clothes and household things; we had but four days' notice. Some left their houses just as they were, with their stoves and household things in them. They promised they would bring all our ponies, but they only brought fifty, and the hostile Sioux came one night and stole all these away. In the first place, when we started from Minnesota they told us they had got a good country for us. . . . After we got on a boat we were as though in a prison. . . . After we got there [to Crow Creek] they sometimes gave us rations, but not enough to go round most of the time. Some would have to go without eating two or three days. It was not a good country; it was all dust. Whenever we cooked any thing it would be full of dust. We found, after a while, that we could not live there. Many of them [the women and children] died because they could not get enough to eat. We do not know who was to blame. . . . They had a cottonwood trough made and put beef in it, and sometimes a

whole barrel of flour and a piece of pork, and let it stand a whole night, and the next morning, after cooking it, would give us some to eat. We tried to use it, but many got sick on it and died. I am telling nothing but the truth. They also put in the unwashed intestines of the beeves, and the liver and the likes, and after dipping out the soup, the bottom would be very nasty and offensive. . . . The pork and the flour that we left in Minnesota that belonged to us, was brought over to Crow Creek and sold to us by our storekeepers at Crow Creek. . . . For myself, I thought I could stay there for a while, and see the country. But I found it wasn't a good country. I lost six of my children. . . .

Little Hill's narrative is quite lengthy, and in all its parts is corroborated by Big Bear, Little Chief, and Decorah, all Winnebago chiefs. . . .

The story of these Indians is a sad but a truthful one; and is, in a certain sense, the story of all Indian removals; for, while precisely the same train of events may not have marred the pathway of all Indians in the process of removal, and the incidents preceding and following, yet all have suffered seriously, many being subjected to barbarous and inhuman treatment. . . . With such incidents repeated frequently in the life of each generation, as tokens of our civilization, should we be surprised that the savage is distrustful of us, and hesitates to accept as genuine our professions of friendship. The joint committee of Congress that investigated the transactions connected with the removal of the Santee Sioux and Winnebago Indians, in reporting upon the case, said: "Of one thing we may be assured, that no government can permit such injuries to go unredressed without incurring the penalty of treaties broken and justice violated." This committee gathered a vast amount of testimony in relation to our Indian affairs in all sections, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, wherever Indians were located, and, among other things, came to the conclusion that in a large majority of cases Indian wars were to be traced to the aggressions of the whites, and that such wars were very destructive, not only of the lives of the warriors, but of the women and children also, often becoming wars of extermination. The committee say: "The indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children has frequently occurred in Indian wars."

As a general thing there is no valid argument in favor of the removal of a tribe, when they are favorably located on land on which they can make their support. Removals simply to oust the Indians and let the whites have their land, must have an end. Every consideration founded in economy, justice, and humanity, demands that the Indian have a fixed and settled home—to be *in fact* permanent. Without it his doom is sealed, and the extinction of the race only a question of time. With a permanent home, fair dealing, and just treatment, the civilization and elevation of the race in the social scale is assured. Let it once be proclaimed as the unalterable law of the land that Indian removals must cease; that the settler's patent is not more sacred than the Indian title to his land; that his home is his castle, and the stride of the red man on the road of progress will astonish his white brother, and ere long, instead of the constant pressure to remove him from his home, he will have the confidence and even sympathy of his white neighbor.

† † † † †

[Additional teacher materials: the Felix White tape.]

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION QUIZ

1. Of what nationality were the "whites" who first came in contact with the Winnebagoes?
_____

2. For what reason did these "whites" wish to become acquainted with the Winnebago tribe?
_____

3. The first contact between the Winnebago Indians and the white man is believed to have occurred near _____ _____ in what is now the state of _____ .

4. The treaty of 1829 ceded land to the white man that was very rich in deposits of _____ .

5. The treaty of 1832 resulted in removal of the Winnebago tribe from southeastern Wisconsin to an area known as the _____ _____ in northeast Iowa and southeast Minnesota.

6. In 1846 the Winnebago Indians were moved north to an area between the _____ and _____ tribes.

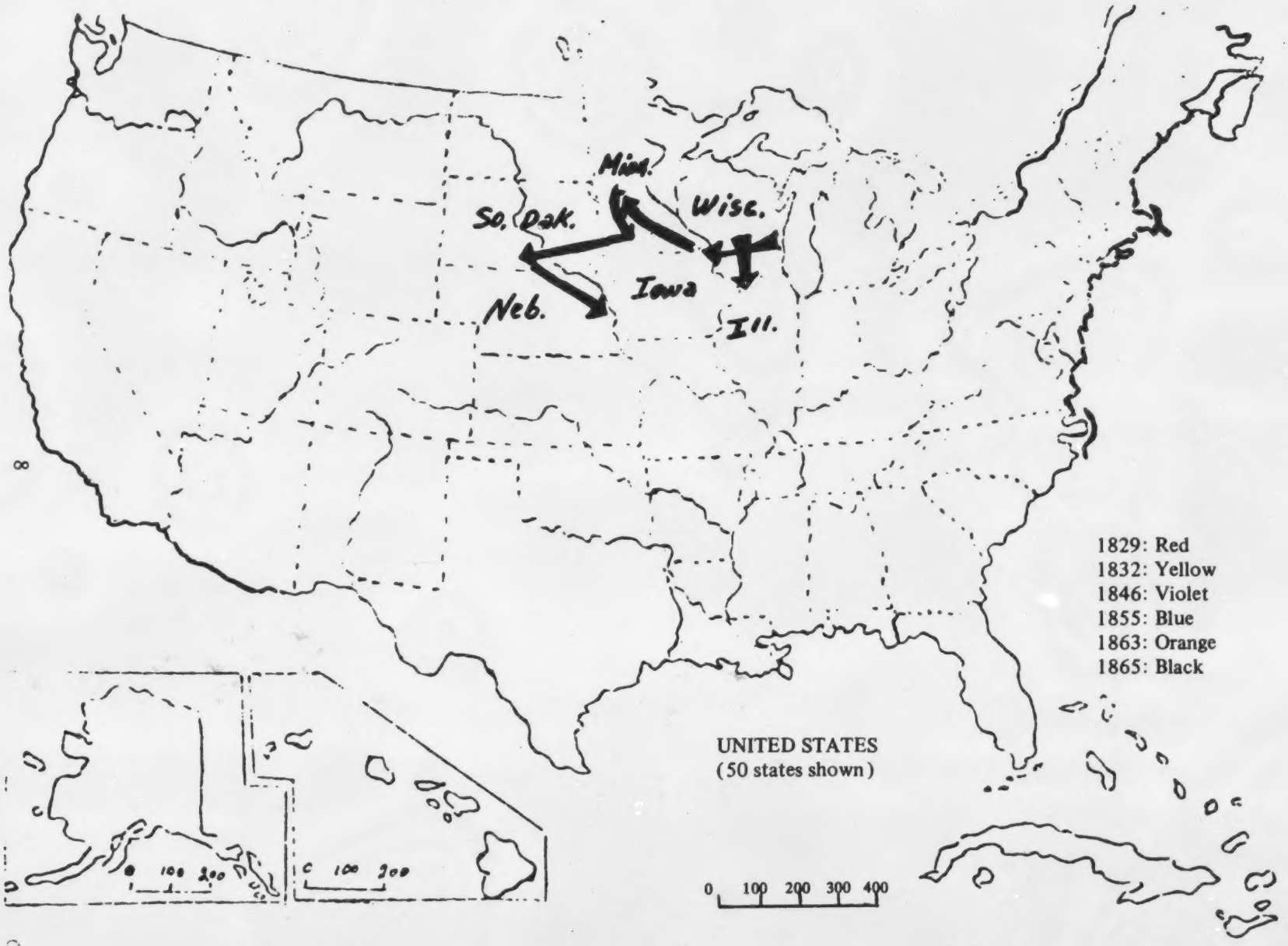
7. In the year 1855 the Winnebago tribe was relocated again. This time the tribe was located farther south on the _____ _____ River.

8. For what reason were the Winnebago Indians removed from their happy home in the year 1863?
_____
_____

9. On May 30, 1863, they arrived at Fort _____ , in what is today the state of _____ _____ .

10. Their new home was situated near the hostile _____ Indians.

11. Unhappy with their new location, the Winnebagoes built canoes and "escaped" down the Missouri River to join the _____ Indians in Nebraska Territory.


Minn.
So. Dak.
Wisc.
Iowa
Neb.
Ill.
1829: Red
1832: Yellow
1846: Violet
1855: Blue
1863: Orange
1865: Black
UNITED STATES
(50 states shown)
0 100 200 300 400
0 100 200
0 100 200

Essay 2

Ho-wakan-tcungera is their own name for the so-called Winnebago people. The name can be translated to mean "the people of a sacred, great voice." Winnebago is a term taken from combining two words, *Winpyagohag*, from the Sauk and Fox language and *Quenpegou*, an Algonquin word.[1]

When the student/scholar studies the "Winnebago" tribe, the true meaning of *Ho-wakan-tchungera* is to be seriously considered, not only for the sake of authenticity but also for the dignity it gives to members of the tribe.

The origin stories or creation stories of the Winnebago have been included in this curriculum packet because these are an essential part of the oral literature and "history" of the tribe.

The Winnebago saw themselves as having originated at the beginning in Lake Superior and as having been the "first people." Their more recent history is clearer to both Indian and white histories. The location of the Winnebago Indian tribe in northeastern Nebraska is the result of transplantation by the armed forces of the U.S. Army on orders of the government in the period of 1832–1865. Earlier than that the tribe was probably forced out of Virginia by the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians, the Winnebago having traveled over a period of many years, across the Appalachians and eventually arrived in the southern part of Wisconsin by the 17th century, very probably. It was in Wisconsin that Jean Nicollet, a Frenchman, came in contact with the tribe in 1634.[2] Soon after the arrival of Jean Nicollet, a French agent of Governor Champlain, missionaries, and French fur traders followed. By the middle of the 18th century the Winnebagoes found themselves becoming more and more dependent upon the coats, blankets, kettles, guns, iron hatchets, and knives they received in exchange for their furs. In the early history of the Winnebago, as was true of other tribes of the Woodlands area, they were involved in numerous war excursions. The life of the warrior was a necessary means of survival as well as providing the ethic for male roles and leadership. The Winnebago had both peace and war leaders supported by clan functions. Policing was provided by the Bear clan, for example.

The Winnebago fought on the side of the French in the French and Indian War; they fought at the siege of Fort George and in 1759 upon the plains of Abraham. They and other tribes, which included the Fox, Sac, and Ottawa, fought bravely in these battles.[3]

George Rogers Clark, representing the United States, made contact with the Winnebago chief and his nation at Rock River. A treaty was drawn between the United States and the tribe on August 22, 1778. In the alliance the United States promised friendship and the Indians agreed to be true and faithful subjects.[4]

The British Government courted the Winnebagoes with many presents. After signing a treaty with the United States in 1778, they went openly to Canada to receive these presents. When the War of 1812 broke out, they fought on the side of England. The American troops found them able soldiers and very brave. They assisted in the battles of the Thames, River Raisin, and the massacre at Machinac.[5]

After the Second War with England, the United States tried to negotiate a treaty between herself and three tribes (Menominees, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas) to convene at portage des Sioux, 1815.

The responsibility for the failure of the 1815 treaty was placed on England. The British had a larger quantity of merchandise on the Mississippi than the Americans. Some of this merchandise was not sold but given the tribes as gifts. That which was sold was at a lower price than American traders wanted. The English traders were constantly stirring up trouble so the trade would remain with the English.[6]

Again the United States Commissioners called a meeting to negotiate a treaty in 1816. The treaty was drawn between the United States and the Winnebagoes, establishing peace and friendship. It also fixed a line between the Ottawa and Winnebago territory. Commissioners then negotiated with the Winnebago and Menominee for part of their land west of Lake Michigan. The land was for a New York Indian reservation but both tribes refused to part with their land.

Finally, the two tribes reconsidered the matter and offered the New York Indians, "A little strip of land about four miles wide crossing the Fox River at right angles with the Little Chute."[7] The Menominee in 1822 ceded to the New York Indians the title and interest to about five million acres. Three thousand dollars were paid as a consideration. The second article promised the Menominee the right to occupy the land, provided the nation would not trespass upon settlements or improvements made there.[8]

Governor Case of Michigan and General Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Missouri, called a grand council of all the tribes to convene at Prairie du Chien in 1825. The Sioux, Sauks, Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Menominees and Iowas were the only tribes represented. The object of the meeting was to make a permanent peace and fix the boundaries of each nation.

A treaty was drawn and signed by all tribes represented in 1825. The object of the treaty was fulfilled and the United States government at a great cost sent surveyors to survey the boundaries. As a result of the treaty, it appeared that the government's Indian troubles were over.[9]

However, one point in the treaty of 1825 caused trouble later. The commissioners recognized the Winnebago ownership of land sold by them in November, 1804. This land was rich mining country located 36 miles up the Wisconsin to Lake Sakaegani.[10]

The Galena miners, about the year 1826, began to move to the present counties of Grant, in Iowa, and Lafayette, in Wisconsin. The Iowas and other tribes who claimed this land had made treaties with the white men to go there. The Winnebagoes, Foxes, and the Sauk claimed the region[11] by the treaty of 1825 even though they relinquished their rights by the treaty of 1804.[12]

The Winnebago outbreak came in 1827, as a result of the miners trespassing on land that they thought was a violation of the treaty of 1825. There was fighting between the Winnebago and miners who trespassed on Winnebago land in violation of the treaty of 1825.

News of the raid spread quickly and confusion reigned over the territory. Men, women, and children fled for their lives especially to Galena. They had no way of protecting themselves because no guns were available.

As a result of the fighting at Galena by order of Governor Cass of Michigan, General Dodge took his mounted, volunteer company and kept watch for the attackers. Win-ne-shick, son of a Winnebago chief, was taken prisoner and held as a hostage. The rest of the summer the Indians did not engage in battles. Generals Atkinson and Dodge made a treaty with the Winnebagoes in the fall.[13]

The treaty of 1829, at Prairie du Chien, closed the Winnebago wars for the time being, with the Winnebago ceding their claims to land south from the Wisconsin River into Illinois, containing the lead mines. In return, the government paid $8,000 annually for thirty years; made an immediate present of $30,000; gave 3,000 pounds of tobacco, fifty barrels of salt delivered yearly for three decades. Three blacksmith shops were built and provided with equipment and material for a term of thirty years.[14]

A grand council was called in 1830 to settle the dispute between the New York tribe, the Winnebago, and the Menominee. The dispute arose from the treaties of 1821 and 1822. The latter two tribes denied selling the land to the New York Indians, declaring that they granted permission only. A treaty was negotiated between these tribes which delegated the president power to settle the dispute.[15] The commissioners, who were appointed to settle the boundaries, summoned the tribes concerned to meet at Green Bay, Wisconsin.[16] The boundaries were extended on the right bank of the river to Winnebago Lake. The Winnebago tribe agreed to an extension of the boundaries to Lake Winnebago.[17]

Soon the people of Illinois, who felt the Winnebago were in the way, asked for their removal. In order to satisfy the requests for removal, General Winfield Scott and the Govrnor of Illinois gained temporary possession of a large grant of land from the Winnebagoes.[18]

Governor Reynolds of Illinois and General Scott met the Winnebagoes at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island, Illinois) in 1832. The land south and east of the Wisconsin River, and the Fox River on Green Bay was given to the United States by the Winnebagoes in return for the "neutral ground" located mainly in northeast Iowa but embracing a small triangle in southeast Minnesota.[19] The government paid annualy $10,000 for 27 years for the removal.[20]

The Cherokee, Cree, and Seminole Indian removals of the 1820's and the accompanying hardships and death were much publicized. There were tribes who suffered as much or more, and one of these was the Winnebago. From a prosperous, proud and energetic people in Wisconsin, where they numbered between four and five thousand, the Winnebago tribe, when it arrived in its permanent home of Nebraska (1865) was a disorganized, homeless, poverty-stricken people. The Winnebago were not just removed from their homes one time, but between 1829 and 1866 they ceded land in seven different negotiations, involving six changes of residence.

In 1832, part of the Winnebago tribe allied themselves with the Sauk and Fox in what was known as the Black Hawk War. As before, the Winnebago were forced to pay for their part in the conflict by ceding more land to the United States. Friendly Winnebago guided Black Hawk to a safe retreat in swampy land surrounding Lake Koshkonong in Michigan territory. He was soon reinforced by parties of Winnebago and Pottawatomie. Black Hawk then went into northern Illinois, planning to wage war. The Winnebago Prophet had told Black Hawk to hold on to his land; the government could not forceably remove him. Then on about August 2, 1832, General Atkinson attacked Black Hawk's band on the Mississippi bottoms approximately 45 miles above Prairie du Chien. The tribe was defeated, but Black Hawk was able to escape after crossing the river. Shortly afterwards, some Winnebago, friendly to the non-Indians, captured Black Hawk.[21]

Smallpox visited the Winnebago in 1834 and about one-fourth of the tribe fell victim to the dread disease. Another disease brought by foreigners to the Winnebago was that of alcohol and its destructive effects. Eager whiskey traders gathered like flies to honey whenever the annuities or annual cash payments were supplied to the Winnebago. Each year many members of the tribe

gathered at the frontier fort in their area to receive annual payments. Others, however, returned to their original homelands in (present day) Wisconsin. The cash payments set up a condition of dependence on the traders to whom they were heavily in debt.[22] "By the treaty of 1838, the government paid them $200,000 for their debts; the half-breeds received $100,000 and $50,000 for horses and goods."[23]

Due to agitation on the part of Iowa white settlers who wanted Winnebago land, the United States government planned to move the Winnebago again, this time from Iowa neutral ground to the north between the reservations of the Sioux and the Chippewa. The government hoped the tribe would act as a buffer between these two tribes who warred on each other. The treaty to remove the Winnebago was concluded October 23, 1846, Washington, D.C. The Winnebago gave up their rights to the "neutral ground" and received 800,000 acres north of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi River. They had been given the right to select their new reservation land, but Henry M. Rice, a former trader among the Winnebago, was chosen to select the land. Rice chose Chippewa land west of the Mississippi between Watal and Crow rivers.[24] By the treaty of 1847, the United States government then negotiated with the Mississippi and Lake Superior bands of Chippewa for the reservation to be set aside for Winnebago tribal members. When it came time, during the summer of 1848, for the Winnebago to move to Minnesota, many did not wish to go, and a great number of them moved to their homelands in Wisconsin. By fall, however, many moved to the Long Prairie Reservation in Minnesota.

In 1850 the land-hungry white settlers of Wisconsin were again complaining to the governor that the Winnebago were a nuisance, and accused them of causing trouble by "habits of lying and stealing." The governors of Wisconsin and Minnesota conferred with each other to see whether the different branches of the Winnebago living in the two states could be brought together. Henry M. Rice was selected to arrange matters; the contract with him was drawn up April 13, 1850. The government agreed to pay $70 per head for the collection and removal of all tribal members who had not as yet located on the reservation at Long Prairie. Rice reported that 1,300 Indians had been taken to the reservation from Turkey River at a cost of $100,000, in June of 1850. He also reported that a band of 200 had been discovered west of the Mississippi.

Annuities were paid the Winnebago at Long Prairie according to treaty agreement. The members of the tribe had difficulty hunting game, as there was a scarcity. They were disturbed by the Sioux and the Chippewa who raided them continuously. In 1852, Governor Ramsey asked the United States government to select a different location for the Winnebago; in 1853 Governor Gorman, with the help of the agent, concluded a treaty which gave the Winnebago the reservation known as Blue Earth, located on the Mississippi between the Crow and Clearwater rivers.[25]

The Winnebago moved immediately to the new reservation, even before the Senate ratified the treaty on July 21, 1854. On February 27, 1855, the treaty was concluded. The Long Prairie Reservation (890,700 acres) was exchanged for land (200,000 acres) on the Blue Earth River; $70,000 was paid to the tribe.

To summarize the removals of the Winnebago until their location on the Blue Earth River: By 1837 the Winnebago had turned over to the United States all their remaining land east of the Mississippi, and by 1840 United States troops had forced them to "neutral ground" in Iowa. Iowa settlers, coveting Winnebago land and fearing the "savage Indians," pressured Congress by 1846 to force the Winnebago to give up their claims in Iowa. A site was selected for them in Minnesota where they were to act as a buffer between the Sioux and Chippewa. In less than five years, because

of the severe climate, the heavy growths of timber, the poor soil and the constant harassment by the Sioux, the Winnebago drifted back into Wisconsin and Iowa.

The United States government then located the Winnebago in an area of only eighteen square miles on the Blue Earth River about ten miles south of present day Mankato, Minnesota. There the Winnebago found a home that was responsive to their needs: there was rich soil, a climate less severe than northern Minnesota, and altogether, they lived a productive life, building homes, barns, raising livestock, and farming successfully. They conducted a school for their children which was satisfactory to the parents and the children, even having, for the first time, two teachers of tribal affiliation to work in the school.

However, the period of stability and prosperity came to an end. White settlers envied the Winnebago their land and used the northern Minnesota Sioux revolt of 1862 to force the Winnebago, though non-participants and innocent of the whole affair, to cede their land on the Blue Earth Reservation. They were hurried from their homes, relieved of their guns, agricultural and carpentry tools. For transportation to Crow Creek, South Dakota, they were taken part way on steamboats. They were herded on these boats, confined to the upper and lower decks, having been excluded from the cabin; there they were fed hard bread and uncooked pork. Before the end of the short trip to South Dakota, sixteen died.

> It was in May, and to go among them on the lower deck was suffocating. . . . They had no sugar, coffee or vegetables. Confinement on the boat in such a mass, and want of proper food, created much sickness, such as diarrhea and fevers. For weeks after they arrived at Crow Creek, the Indians died at the rate of three to four per day. In a few weeks, one hundred fifty had died, mainly on account of the treatment they received after leaving Fort Snelling. They were landed at Crow Creek on the first day of June, 1863. The season was unusually dry, vegetation was burnt up, and no crop growing; some corn had been planted, but did not get more than four inches high before it wilted down.[26]

There was no game to be found in the vicinity and the neighboring Sioux were hostile. Brigadier General Sulley, commander of the northwestern expedition against Indians, wrote to the Department of the Interior on behalf of the Winnebago, July 16, 1863, confirming the hostility of other tribes, the barrenness of the soil:

> I don't think you can depend on a crop of corn even once in five years, as it seldom rains here in the summer. . . . I find them hard at work making canoes, with the intention of quitting the agency and going to join the Omahas or some other tribe down the river. They said they had been promised to be settled on the Big Sioux River.[27]

Out of 2,000 taken to Crow Creek only 1,200 reached the Omaha Reservation where they were fed and sheltered by the friendly Omaha. The United States government, through the Department of the Interior, then ordered the Omaha agent to feed the starving refugees until spring, and later, purchased a part of the Omaha Reservation, 128,000 acres, for the Winnebago Reservation. By the treaty of 1867, this land became the Nebraska Winnebago Indian Reservation.[28]

FOOTNOTES

1. Personal interview with Reuben Snake, Winnebago chairman of the tribal council, Winnebago, Nebraska, July 30, 1978. See also, Frederick Webb Hodge, *Hand Book of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bulletin 30, Part 2, N-Z (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1910), pp. 958-959. Compare that with what

Paul Radin says in *The Winnebago Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 5 about the tribal name: "The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as 'people of the parent speech' by James Owen Dorsey and as 'big fish people' by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean 'speech,' but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is 'big, real.'" See also Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, XV, Huron and Quebec, 1638-39, (Cleveland, 1898), note 7, pp. 247-248.

2. This paragraph and the following text with the exception of documented material is paraphrased or taken directly from that which originated with the personnel of Tutors of Nebraska Indian Children (TONIC), University of Nebraska-Lincoln, mimeographed materials, 1970-1975. Otherwise, the master's thesis by Jesse Zimmerman has been helpful.

3. *Proceedings of State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, at its 36th Annual Meeting and State Historical Convention, Annual 36-40 (Madison, 1909), pp. 131-132.

4. Reuben Thwaites, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, XI (Madison, 1883), pp. 112-114.

5. Ibid., IV (Madison, 1859), p. 216.

6. *American State Paper, Documents, Legislature, and Executive Indian Affairs*, December 4, 1815, March 3, 1827, II (Washington, 1834), pp. 10-11.

7. *Report and Collections on the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1877-1878-1879 (Madison, 1879), pp. 335-336.

8. Ibid., XVII (Madison, 1906), pp. 209-211.

9. Ibid., VII (Madison, 1876), p. 152.

10. Thwaites, *Collections*, XI, p. 360.

11. Ibid., IV, p. 250.

12. Ibid., XI, p. 360.

13. *Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1869, 1879, 1871, and 1872, VI (Madison, 1872), pp. 329-331.

14. Charles J. Koppler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, VII (Washington, 1903), pp. 215-216.

15. Thwaites, *Collections*, XII, p. 173.

16. Ibid., XII, p. 207.

17. Ibid., XII, p. 214.

18. George Dewey Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1941), pp. 281-282.

19. See Map III.

20. Koppler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, II, p. 251.

21. Thwaites, *Collections*, XII, p. 239, 223, 262.

22. William Wattes Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, I (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1924), p. 309.

23. Koppler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, II, pp. 498-500.

24. Refer to Map I.

25. Refer to Map III.

26. George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880), pp. 135-136. Also, refer to Map III.

27. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: Early Crusade for Indian Reform*, ed. Andrew F. Rolle (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), p. 233.

28. Refer to Map IV.

ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP I

THE EARLY HOME OF THE WINNEBAGOES

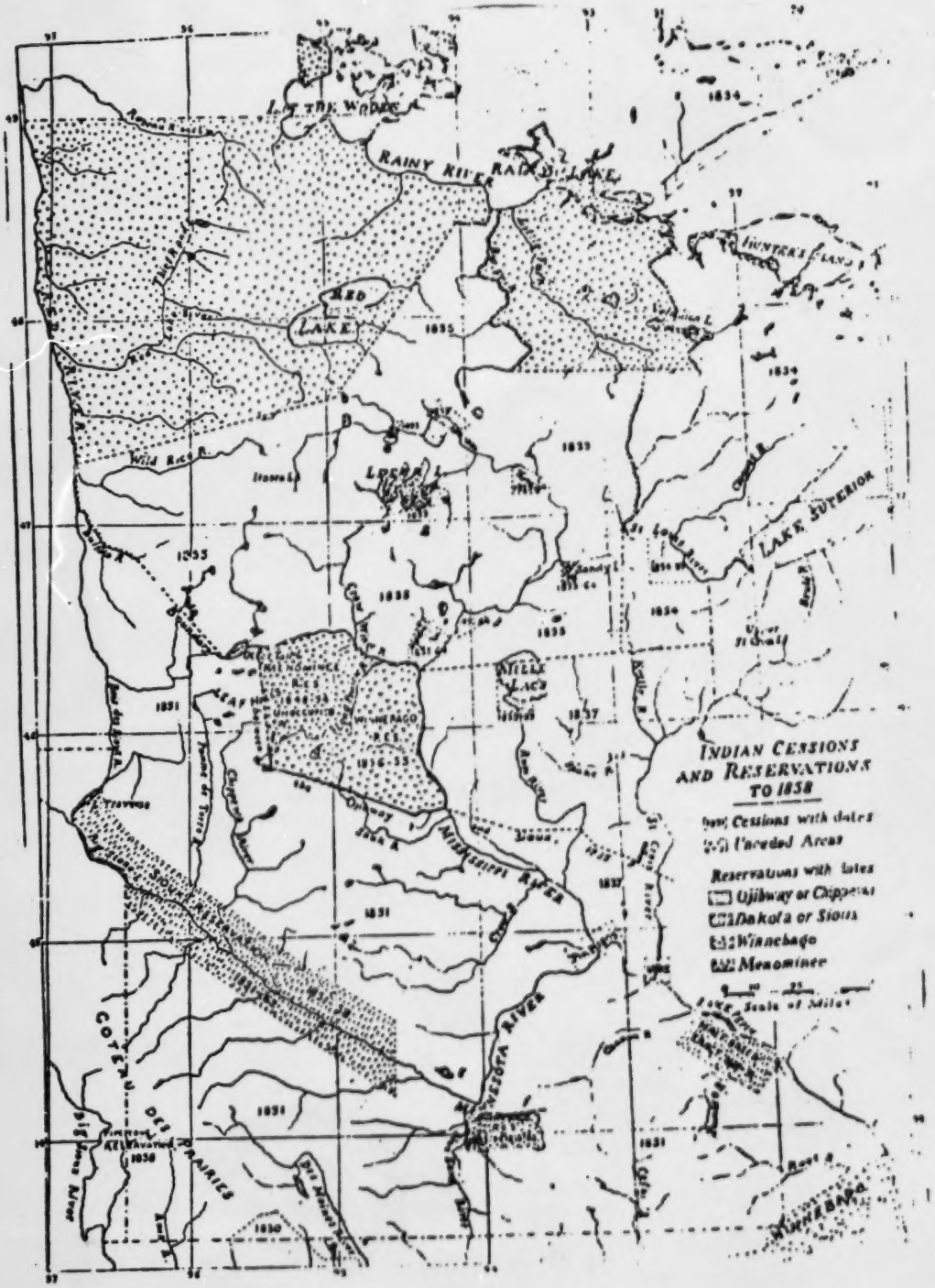
The above is a map showing that portion of Wisconsin once occupied by the Winnebagoes. When the white man first discovered this region it was a vast hunting ground abounding in game and fur-bearing animals. The explorers and fur traders who visited the country found numerous Indian villages. The crosses on the map indicate the sites of some of the largest of these villages.

ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP II

LEAD MINES ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER

*Dotted lines indicate areas in which lead mines are located.

ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP III



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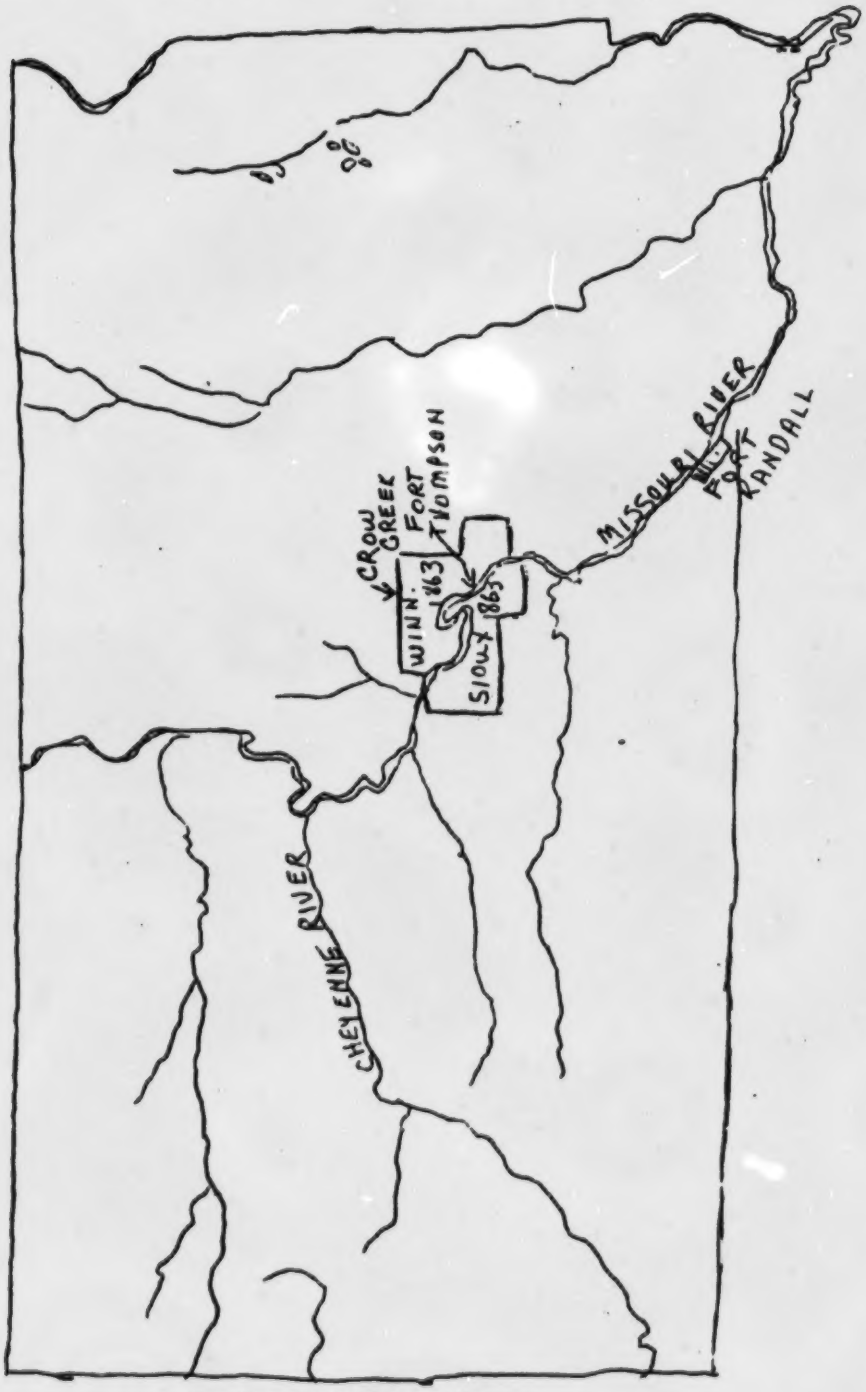
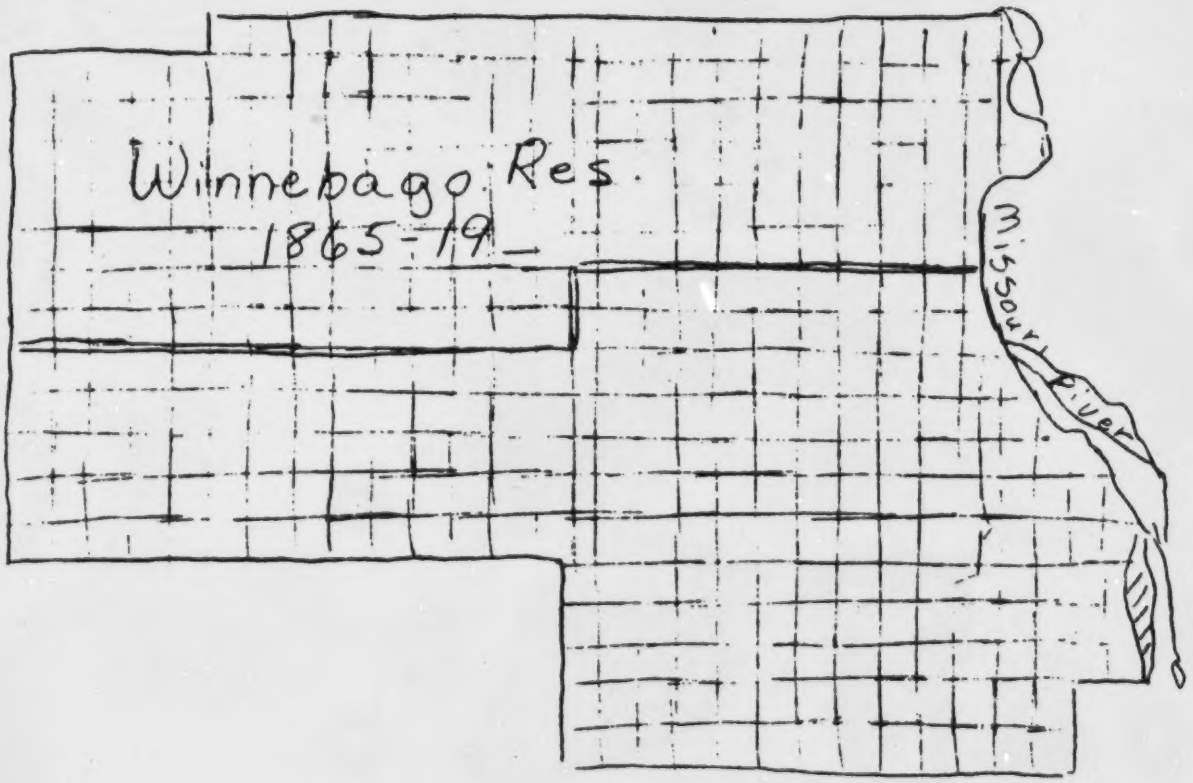
ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP IV



STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP V



THURSTON COUNTY, NEBRASKA

19

ORIGIN AND REMOVAL: MAP VI

To the Student: Trace on this map the various removals of the Winnebago people using a different color of crayon or pencil for each removal. Use red for first removal, yellow for second removal, violet for third, blue for fourth, orange for fifth, and black for sixth.

SECTION II: WORLD VIEW AND HISTORY

Teacher Background

Several versions of the story of creation and a number of stories which are important to the Winnebago from the standpoint of world view, culture, and sense of history can be found in the Medicine Lodge Rite or *The Road of Life and Death* by Paul Radin. Pages 13–33 from the Radin book are included in the handout for this unit. Material included for student study gives background information for study of the Winnebago culture and literature and one version of the story of creation.

The section of the Medicine Lodge Rite to be studied may be approached in at least two ways. One involves a comparative approach in regard to creation stories: the study of Winnebago creation stories in comparison with those of Christianity or the western world religions, and also a comparison of the different versions of creation stories in the Medicine Lodge Rite itself. The second approach is that of how the Medicine Lodge Rite came about and its purpose of maintaining the virtuous life among the Winnebago and giving meaning or interpretation to Winnebago history.

If one compares the creation story in the Medicine Lodge Rite to the Genesis account, it becomes apparent that in contrast to the Genesis version for Christianity (where may is the last created because he is the crown of creation and is to have "dominion" over all things), in the Winnebago story man is considered one of the lowest of Mauna's (the Creator) creatures. Since man is to be pitied for his weakness and inability to defend himself, the first four beings of Mauna's creations–Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-as-Earrings–must try to defend mankind by ridding the earth of evil spirits. These beings fail. It is only Hare, a sacred being born of a human being, who is able to rid the earth of these evil spirits. (Hare enters the womb of a woman and is born in seven months.)

The role of Hare has been changed from the role given to him in the traditional tales of the Winnebago where he is a kind of clown. In the Medicine Lodge Rite, as indicated by his "virgin birth," he differs from Foolish One (*Wakjuhngkaga*, sometimes called Trickster), Turtle, Bladder, and He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings. Further, Hare is given a role of leadership in instituting the Medicine Lodge Rite. Hare, in his compassion for the human beings whom he calls his "aunts and uncles," wishes for them the immortality which he enjoys. Grandmother Earth, however, informs him that death is necessary. Hare does not accept this condition; he then goes into mourning. He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings is the only one who could arouse him from his grief over the mortality of his "aunts and uncles." The Thunderbird chief afterwards shakes a little war club painted red causing a terrific noise, and frees Hare of his "sad and bitter thoughts." Then Hare goes to Earthmaker who solaces him by saying: "Hare, sad must your heart have been there on earth. Sore indeed must have been your heart, worrying about your uncles and your aunts. But I shall give you some solace, something by which their lives may be benefited. A sacred teaching you are to take back to them. But, before I say more, I want you to look at something. Come, look!"

To the south a long lodge–the Medicine Lodge–was revealed in which sat old people, their hair white with age. This was the lodge in which the aunts and uncles were to live who performed the Medicine Lodge Rite properly, thereby keeping away evil spirits; *these members could then live more than one life.* The human beings could return to earth as human beings or "join one of the various bands of spirits or, again, if [they] want to, [they] can become one of the beings who live under the earth." Hare was adjured to carry out the establishment of the rite with the help of

the first four beings and Grandmother Earth. After the Medicine Lodge is founded, reincarnation is then possible for human beings who live out a span of life, join the land of their ancestors or the souls of those who have died, then live another span of life in the same form or another form.

The Medicine Lodge Rite has several themes which are recurrent. One of these themes is the "journey of life" which is expressed by descriptions of changes caused by age. For example, when bear and wolf are sent by Hare as public-criers about the world, they return, and "their bodies were old and they were quite without hair. They had to support themselves on staffs." Another is reincarnation; another is the journey into the land of death; still another is that all things happen in cycles.

While establishing the Medicine Lodge Rite, Hare calls a council and sends the public-criers to gather the participants. The participants include the spirits, the first four beings, human beings, and four members of four clans (the bear clan, wolf clan, bird clan, and snake clan). They enter a lodge which serves as a precedent for the ritual symbolism of the Medicine Rite; these include the eight yellow snakes (sidepoles of the lodge), tied with strings made of rattlesnakes, a black female snake and a white male snake (the two posts at the doorway), two blue snakes (the doorway in the west has them as posts), reedgrass which is transformed into white deerskin, and bearskins. A doorway for the east entrance becomes a living mountain lion (who keeps out evil spirits), and the doorway at the west is a real bull buffalo.

Plants which are sacred for the rite are tobacco and corn and squash, reflecting Winnebago agriculture.

The most important theme of the rite is, of course, the journey of the initiate who is experiencing the Medicine Lodge Rite. He knows that the first ceremony is the "tear pouring ceremony"—the wake held for that person whose place he is to take. Through the ceremony he undergoes a spiritual "death," then through the purification and teachings of the ceremony learns how to live to be worthy of reincarnation. He or she is told that the meaning of life involves honor, moderation and sharing with one's fellow man, and, of course, life of the spirit.

In teaching this material to students, it may be useful to ask how the values implicit in the material would affect a person's view of history and the environment. Some observations may be made here; the notion that man is the weakest of creatures suggests a life style in which dependence on the natural cycles rather than dominance of them is to be expected. The rite's emphasis on man's weakness may also in part explain why the Winnebago could accept successive defeats with dignity and still retain a sense of culture and "peoplehood." The existence of the notion of reincarnation in the form in which it is found in Winnebago story and history suggests both that the expansion of the population is not a goal and that life for the reincarnated will be like life in their previous existence; that is, none of the reincarnation stories works like Rip Van Winkle or the science fiction stories in which someone falls asleep or dies to be reawakened to a world which is radically different from the world known in the previous life because of "progress." Finally the Winnebago heroes, like the heroes of practically all Indian nations are types in which historical people can see their images. Thus, a clownish or egotistical leader may compare himself (or be compared to) the Foolish One, Wakjuhngkaga, or see himself as a reimbodiment of the Foolish One. Felix White's account of Little Priest may give you some idea of all of the different forces and religious types that an actual historical figure among the Winnebago could draw on in his quest to serve his society.

In teaching this section of the unit, try to encourage the student to relate the material as much

as possible to the material in the previous section on history so that the students can develop the perception that the history of a people, how they act under pressure, is very much influenced by their sense of how the world is put together and what "the first history" was.

WORLD VIEW AND WINNEBAGO HISTORY

In the first section of this unit, you have looked at recent Winnebago history. The Winnebago have a longer account of their history, which includes the creation of the world, the Winnebago people, and the creation or emergence of the Winnebago people near the shores of Lake Michigan in what is now modern Wisconsin. This longer account is important not because it is historically accurate or inaccurate—there is no way to check it at present. It is important because it helps us to understand the Winnebago view of the universe, of man, and of recent events. Those more recent events are interpreted in relation to patterns established when the first events happened or patterns set by the great heroes of the Winnebago people, who, it is believed, lived shortly after the time of the first creation. The first material to be read in this section of the unit is the Winnebago creation story from the Medicine Lodge Ritual of the Winnebago people.

THE WINNEBAGO CREATION STORY

The Winnebagoes believe that Earthmaker (Mauna) created all things. In the beginning, Earthmaker was lying in the heavens. What he was lying on when he first came to consciousness, we do not know. Tears from his eyes had fallen below him and formed something shiny. It was the waters of the earth. Then he seized a portion of that upon which he was lying and sent it hurtling down below him. That which he had thrown slowly assumed the appearance of this earth of ours. The earth was bare and spinning continuously. To correct this, Mauna (Earthmaker) took a weed-like object from that upon which he lay, changed it to grass, and hurled it downward. To stop the spinning he made four beings, those that are called waterspirits, and placed them under the earth. For that reason they are also called "Island Anchorers."

Finally, he scattered a female being over the whole earth. By female being is meant stones and rocks. Now the earth was at last quiet.

Then all the birds, four-footed animals to roam the earth, sea creatures, and insects were in turn created by Earthmaker.

And then, at the very end of his thoughts, he made man. Man was not even equal in strength to a fly. Indeed, he was the very weakest of all things Earthmaker created. Because of this weak condition of human beings they were on the point of being destroyed by evil ones. So he formed a being, just like us, whom he called Trickster (Foolish One) and sent him to earth to save the human beings. Well, Foolish One did not do what he had been told; in fact, he had even injured some of Mauna's creations, so Mauna recalled him.

Then Mauna formed another being and called him Turtle. Giving Turtle the same assignment as he had given Trickster he sent him to earth. Turtle also failed to look after Earthmaker's last creation, as he had been told to do, so he too was recalled.

Then Earthmaker made a third being like us and called him Bladder. He was sent to earth to rescue the human beings from extermination by the evil spirits, but he too failed and was called back to Earthmaker.

Then Earthmaker formed a fourth being whom he called He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings. He sent him to earth, but he, too, failed.

Then Earthmaker formed another being, the last one, his body exactly like ours. He called him Hare. To him he said, "O Hare, you are the last one I am going to create for this task of rescuing the two-legged-walkers from the evil ones." Like the others, Mauna created him entirely by the force of his thoughts. Thus, Hare was sent to earth. In the daytime he always stayed at home, planning how he would rescue his uncles and his aunts, but at night he would roam all about the world killing all the evil spirits he could find. Soon he had covered all of the world, including the heavens where the evil birds lived, and all the evil spirits he encountered he killed and put an end to. Then, walking toward his lodge, he thought pleasant thoughts. "The work my father has sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my aunts and uncles will be like mine from now on."

As he sat in the lodge, he spoke to his grandmother. "Grandmother, the work my father, Earthmaker, sent me to do, that I have now accomplished. Hereafter the lives of my uncles and aunts will be the same as my own."

"But, Grandson, how can that be?" his grandmother replied. "How can the lives of your uncles and aunts be like yours? It is not so. The world and all about it must remain the way our father created it. It cannot be changed."

Then Hare murmured to himself, "That old woman must be related to those beings that I killed and that is why she doesn't like what I say and what I have done."

"No," she answered, "that is not so. Our father has ordained that my body shall fall to pieces. I am the earth. Our father ordained that there should be death, lest otherwise there be too many people and not enough food for them. . . . For that reason it was arranged that men should die and that a place be reserved for them to go to after death! Don't worry, your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a ripe old age. However, Grandson, if you do what I now ask you, they will become immortal. Get up and follow me. Your uncles and your aunts will follow you in time to come. Try with all your strength to do what I am going to tell you. Be a man now, a real man, and, under no circumstances, turn to look back as we walk along the road."

They started to go around the world. "I was not to look back, Grandmother said. I wonder why she said it." Thus thought Hare. But just the least little bit, so he thought to himself, he would look back, for he was suspicious of his grandmother. And as he peeked, the place from which he had started caved in completely and instantaneously.

"Oh, Grandson, what have you done? I thought you were a man, a person of real prominence! And I encouraged you so greatly! But now, my grandson, it is done. Decay, death, can in no way be taken back!"

Thus was the opportunity for Hare to gain immortality for his uncles and aunts (the human beings created by Earthmaker) lost, but, he was assured by his grandmother that they would attain to old age.

Yet Hare was not satisfied. He would not be satisfied until he had gained the condition of immortality for his uncles and aunts. He traveled to the east, then to the north, then to the west, and finally to the south, but was unable to find the "key" to immortality for his aunts and uncles.

Hare started for his lodge crying, "My uncles and aunts must not die!" Then he thought, "To all things death must come!" After he entered his lodge he took his blanket and, wrapping it around

him lay down crying. "Not the whole earth will allow space for all those who will die! Indeed, there will not be enough earth for them in many places!"

After a while the news reached Earthmaker that Hare was not feeling well. As soon as he heard it he sent Trickster, the first of the four beings he had created after man, to earth to bring Hare back. But Hare didn't even move his blanket to acknowledge his presence. So Foolish One returned to Earthmaker.

Then Earthmaker sent Turtle, the second being he created after man, but he returned saying, "Hare would not even listen to me."

After Bladder, the third being he created after man, failed to get Hare to return he spoke to the fourth, He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings: "You are to go after Hare and bring him back here. Be sure to bring him. Try with all your strength and power!" And the fourth one replied, "No matter how difficult it will be, I shall bring him back to you!" So he started for earth and when he got there he went directly to Hare and said, "Hare, for a long time your heart has been sore. But now it is time for you to go home. Come, get up!" And Hare arose and went back with him to Earthmaker. Earthmaker (Mauna) spoke to him and said, "Hare, sad must your heart have been there on earth worrying about your uncles and aunts. But I shall give you some solace, something by which their lives may be benefited. A sacred teaching you are to take back to them. But, before I say more, I want you to look at something." As he spoke, he pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood revealed. As he looked at it he saw old people in it, their hair white with age.

Earthmaker spoke: "Thus will your uncles and aunts live. . . . Within that lodge not one evil spirit will I place." Then pointing toward earth, Earthmaker said, "You are to return from where you came, Hare, and establish this ceremony for your uncles and aunts. This, too, remember, that if any one of your uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly he will have more than one life. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being or he can join one of the various bands of spirits or if he wants to, he can become one of the beings who life under the earth."

So Hare returned to earth and to his grandmother. And he spoke to her: "Grandmother, what I tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I am bringing back with me. About that I am going to tell you now."

Hare, then, with the help of his friends Turtle, Bladder, Foolish One, and He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings, built the Creation Lodge and created the Medicine Rite Ceremony as directed by Earthmaker. The first ceremony is conducted in order to teach human beings (Hare's uncles and aunts) what they must do to gain immortality. This they were to pass on from generation to generation for all time to come.

Reading Questions:

1. Earthmaker made man the weakest of his creations. How does this compare with what you believe? How would this view affect one's sense of one's role in history?

2. How do the Winnebago Indians feel they can gain immortality?

SECTION III: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Teacher Introduction

The Winnebago tribe possessed, prior to the removals, an elegant social organization. The whole tribe was divided into half tribes–each of which had differing social duties–and the half tribes were divided into clans. The following material–which may be used in a lecture–describes the pre-contact and early post-contact structure of social organization in the Winnebago tribe. It is taken from *The Road of Life and Death* by Paul Radin, pp. 51–77.

WINNEBAGO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ITS IDEOLOGY

The Winnebago social organization contains two structural patterns characteristic of many North American Indian tribes–first, the division of the tribe into two halves and, second, the clan. Every clan belongs to either one or the other of these two halves or phratries, called respectively, those-from-above or upper people, and those-from-the-earth or lower people.

The phratries possess, or rather possessed at one time, a number of distinctive and fundamental functions, lay and religious. Marriage within the same phratry, for instance, was forbidden. Each phratry had different burial customs. In the ceremonial lacrosse game one was always pitted against the other.

Nowhere were these contrasting duties and functions more fundamental, however, than in the political-social realm. In the upper phratry are centered, in the person of the tribal chief, all the peace and humanitarian functions of the tribe. He is selected from the clan generally regarded as the most important one in the tribe, the thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war ceremonies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division, who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered preeminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet the two aspects of life and of reality wich which we are being continually confronted, the

protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief, evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, "The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones."

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them, and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peacepipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion.

† † † † †

The material given above may be lectured on by the teacher or presented in a series of transparencies, lecture bits, and discussion. Once the students have grasped the idea or ideology of the clan structure, you may wish to present some or all of the specific details about the clans given on the following pages. This will prepare the student for the exercises which follow this section.

Teacher Material

One of the consequences of the removal process was that it disturbed the social organization of the Winnebago. Many of the traditional war-making functions were either eliminated or rendered nugatory, and many of the other functions could not be pursued in the old way in the Nebraska landscape with the confines of the reservation and the paternalistic intervention of the United States government.

Have the students go through the clans on the basis of your presentation and determine which functions each clan was supposed to have in the traditional organization; which it was not supposed to have. Then try to determine which of these functions would still exist on a pacified reservation where the "official religion"–which was being promoted by the schools and reservation officials as well as by the missionaries–was Christianity. To determine if the analysis is correct, you may wish to look at Felix White's account of what happened to the Winnebago when they first came to the reservation and settled and hear his account of Big Bear and Little Priest (on the tapes).

You may wish to write to the Winnebago tribe for its current calendar which describes the present structure of the tribe (indicate whether the tribe is to bill you or your school). When you examine the current structure, you will note further changes; you may wish to discuss the probable causes for these changes with your class. Make certain in your discussion that you make clear that changes in the clan structure may mean changes or confusion as to how people help each other.

Ask the students–Indian, Anglo, Black, or Chicano–how changes during our lifetime have affected their sense of how people should help each other.

MATCHING QUIZ

___ 1. Most important clan
___ 2. Hawk
___ 3. Control of Discipline
___ 4. Asylum for wrongdoers
___ 5. "Minor soldiers"
___ 6. Pigeon clan
___ 7. Water was sacred
___ 8. Bear or Soldier dance
___ 9. Forbidden by Deer Clan
___ 10. War bundles
___ 11. Peacemaker
___ 12. Public Criers
___ 13. Forbidden by Bear clan
___ 14. Two Divisions
___ 15. Sacrificed at feasts

A. lodge of Thunderbird chief
B. extinct
C. lower world
D. old name for Warrior clan
E. Wolf clan
F. Water-spirits clan
G. Weep too loudly
H. Marriage
I. Thunderbird clan
J. Phratries
K. peep into pail
L. sit in doorway
M. Bear clan
N. healing ceremony
O. Buffalo clan
P. Winnebago Chief
Q. young braves
R. source of strength
S. dogs
T. losers of lacrosse

35

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Clan	Functions Expected	Functions Not Expected	Probable Functions Changed by Reservation
Thunderbird			
Warrior (Hawk)			
Eagle and Pigeon			
Bear			
Wolf			
Water-spirit			
Buffalo			
Deer			
Elk			
Fish and Snake			

NINETEENTH CENTURY CLAN ORGANIZATION*

There were twelve clans that still existed among the Winnebago or had recently existed at the time of Winnebago removal and thereafter. They were as follows:

A. Those from above (Upper People)

1. Thunderbird
2. Warrior (Hawk)
3. Eagle
4. Pigeon

B. Those from below (Lower People)

5. Bear
6. Wolf
7. Water-spirit
8. Deer
9. Elk
10. Buffalo
11. Fish
12. Snake

Glossary

Winnebago: A term taken from combining two words, *winpyagohag* (people of the filthy water) from the Sauk and Fox language, and *quenpegou* (bad-smelling water), an Algonquin word.

Phratry: One-half of the world. The two halves (phratries) were the Upper World People and the Lower World People.

Clan: A subdivision of a phratry. Originally twelve in number and each with a social function to perform.

Since then, some of the difficulties encountered in removal, the smallpox epidemics, and the social turmoil of the changes of location, have led to further disturbances in the clan structure. Let us look at the classical clan structure before we look at the changes. A brief description of the functions and duties of the various tribal clans as told by Paul Radin in his *The Winnebago Tribe* (1953) follows:

THOSE FROM ABOVE CLANS

1. The Thunderbird Clan

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

As mentioned before, the [peace] chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace,

*Paul Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1923), pp. 159-202.

around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans* and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.
>
> The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.
>
> The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.
>
> The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i.e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up, i.e., to give himself up to the relative of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free. . . .

. . . The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and

*He divided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter he insisted was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they cannot be alienated from the clan.* For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed to never ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winnebago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. . . .

. . . According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

2. The Warrior Clan

There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan. . . .

Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the *wonayire ua'nkck* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of

*This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth, it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were confined and certain tribal regalia deposited. The informants were not, however, at all clear about these facts, some even denying that there was a Warrior lodge and insisting that prisoners were confined in the Bear or Soldier lodge.

According to one informant, the Warrior and Bear clans could give each other orders that had to be obeyed.

The members of the Warrior clan claimed that all the members of the clan were warriors and did not have to fast in order to obtain the right of starting out on a war party. This was vigorously denied by the members of the other clans, who referred to this claim with derision. There seems, however, to be no reason for questioning the fact that the clan had a special lodge and that it was intimately connected with war functions. Exactly what these were it is quite impossible to state, as they have not been exercised for a very long time.

The clan facial decorations, used only at burial, and which were supposed to be marks of recognition in the spirit land, are as follows. A red line alternating with a black and another red line across the forehead, and a red line around the mouth. One informant claimed that only the three marks on the forehead were necessary, and that in times of war blood was used for the red marks.

According to an informant of the Thunderbird clan, the Warrior clan functions were as follows: "The Warrior clan's position in the tribe is that of general warrior. He can kill an enemy at any time without breaking any of the rules of the tribe. Every other clansman who wishes to go on the warpath must fast and be blessed by the spirits with specific blessings before he can do this." . . .

3. and 4. Eagle and Pigeon Clans

No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an Eagle feast is mentioned.

THOSE FROM BELOW CLANS

5. The Water-Spirit Clan

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all of the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups,

one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled, another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled, and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan.

Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.

One informant explained the custom as follows: "If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man.

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

6. The Bear Clan

The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *nama$_{\chi}$ini$_{\chi}$ini*. Some individuals also claimed that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house. . . .

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled baton of authority called *nama$_{\chi}$ini$_{\chi}$ini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reˋ u^{n}*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *nama$_{\chi}$ini$_{\chi}$ini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

> The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i.e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it

up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his firearms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy.

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him.

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him.

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following:

To peep into the lodge.
To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.
To sit in the doorway.
To give a deep sign or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped.

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him.

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan.

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends. . . . It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied

as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral. The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one read and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red. . . . The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manuⁿpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

7. The Buffalo Clan

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

8. The Wolf Clan

Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear,

however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge. If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

According to another informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

9. The Deer Clan

The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions. It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they were told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

10. The Elk Clan

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward anyone.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

11. and 12. The Snake and Fish Clans

No information of any consequence was obtained about the Fish clan. The Snake clan was usually located on the outer periphery of the village as a first line of defense because of the belief that snakes cannot be surprised by the enemy.

Writer's Comment

Contact with the European culture had a devastating effect upon many Winnebago customs, certainly not the least of which was their social organization. This was not the result of a well-planned policy of extermination with intent toward that end, but simply the inevitable result of constant encroachment upon the Native peoples by the whites. For instance, the ceaseless movement from place to place occasioned by the advancing white culture made any kind of village organization extremely difficult, if indeed possible. This tribal movement sometimes resulted in intermarriage with whites or Indians from some other tribe. Since children assumed membership in the same clan as their father, if the father had no clan status, the child (half-breed) would then be grouped with his mother's clan. This was contrary to the Winnebago way.

According to Reuben Snake, when he spoke at a Native American Institute at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln in June of 1979, the clan system of the Winnebago tribe was literally "wiped out" by the Allotment Act of 1887* and later allotments. Prior to this piece of legislation, the Winnebagoes were clustered in a hilly, wooded area of the Reservation in northeast Nebraska near the Missouri River with the traditional clan organization being practiced. The parcelling out of land to heads of families resulted in the relocation of many clan familes often many miles away from other members of their clan. Unable to perform their clan functions in a village environment, this traditional form of social organization has become comparatively nonexistent.

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*Allotment Act (Dawes Act): Provided that each head of an Indian family could, if he wished, claim 160 acres of reservation land of his own. Bachelors, women, and children were entitled to lesser amounts. Legal ownership of the property was to be held in trust by the federal government for 25 years. During this period the Indians could neither sell their land nor use it as security for a mortgage. This restriction was intended to protect the Indians from unscrupulous land speculators.

ACTIVITIES FOR STUDENTS

1. Find the following words in the previous essay. Then rewrite the phrase containing that word using the definition of it in place of the word. (You should understand that the rewritten phrase with the definition may not represent smooth English style. The point of this activity is to help you understand definition, not to teach style.) Do not define the same word more than once. The words are:

taboo	sinew	mammal	flint
pliable	noose	strangling	ingenious
impaled	meanderings	ceremony	lodge
former	sacrifices	host	fasts
encountered	breeding	customary	ensue
reconnoiter	steeped		

   The above words should be a part of a unit-long vocabulary list which you develop.

2. After reading the description of a buffalo hunt, find a reference help showing the numerous uses made of the buffalo in the Indian economy. Are any uses made of the buffalo today? Your teacher may wish to have you view the film "Buffalo: Ecological Success Story."

3. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students. (This arrangement is strongly encouraged.) Each group may wish to list the things they admire about the Indian way of life as they perceive it was before contact was made with the Europeans. Then each group could make a list of the things they admire about their way of life as it is today. After you have enough time to arrive at a consensus of things to be listed, place a composite list on the board. After lists are complete, ask yourself or your group the following questions:

   Do you think an Indian of your age in America today would agree with you about your list? Explain your answer.

   Do you think the Indian culture would have evolved into something near to what we have today if they had not come in contact with the European culture? Give reasons for your answer.

   Is there any way we can have the best of two worlds? Give reasons for your decision.

SECTION IV: ECONOMY

Teacher Introduction

Perhaps the easiest area for students to study and conceptualize change in a culture's life is the area of economy in its superficial aspects. The removals obviously produced a series of changes for the Winnebago from the limited contact period prior to 1833 where a mixture of an indigenous agricultural economy and a related hunting-gathering economy were practiced. The agricultural economy emphasized corn, beans, and squash as did that of most of the American tribes. The hunting-gathering economy in the Wisconsin woodland and lakeland area emphasized the hunting of bear, deer, buffalo, and small birds; the gathering economy emphasized the gathering of wild rice and berries. From this economy, the Winnebago went on to somewhat similar but more sparse mixed economic development in their first two removals to Iowa and Minnesota. The 1846 removal to the rich agricultural Blue Earth area in Minnesota allowed the Winnebago to develop a successful agricultural economy. The removal to the Crow Creek concentration camp meant that there was no economy save that which starving people can develop to subsist; old people who have stories from that period talk of parents and grandparents picking grain and seeds from the dung of buffalo to survive or of mothers recovering milk from the stomachs of baby buffalo which were killed near the fort to feed babies. The journey down the river to the Omaha reservation and Winnebago occupancy of the north half of that reservation led to the redevelopment of a somewhat successful mixed farming-gathering-hunting economy in which hunting and gathering were done in the woodlands along the Missouri on the reservation, fishing was done in the Missouri, and farming was done in those parts of the reservation which are open plain. The Allotment Act (Dawes Act) implementation led to the development of a concept of private property and changed that whole system of economic motivations. Increasing paternalism, the depression, and other factors produced an increasingly stagnant economy in the thirties, one which continued into the forties, fifties, and sixties. More recently, the Winnebago have endeavored to redevelop their economy through the development of the Winnebago Timberland Industries. This unit will try to make four cuts into the Winnebago economic life: that before removal from Wisconsin, that developed at Blue Earth, that developed in the early days of the Nebraska reservation up until 1920, and that developed recently with efforts to revive Winnebago woodland work with the Winnebago Timberland Industries, to redevelop traditional crafts and to make some return to agriculture.

In examining this section of the unit, make certain that you ask students to keep in mind the impact of the other three sectors studied in this unit on the development of economic change: the removals changed the ecological base of the economy; the value system—running directly in the face of western civilization's purely acquisitive capitalistic ethic—required a different way of operating economically from that assumed by the conventional economic system, and the kinship and social organizational system defined modes of mutual support in the tribe which may have been difficult to put into practice in new environments and which certainly went against the assumptions of western economies with their emphasis on the individual or the nuclear family as basic in the economic unit.

THE ECONOMY

The most obvious changes which have taken place in the life of the Winnebago people across the last century have been changes in their economic life. The Winnebago people have been asked to live in new places; they have been surrounded by people having a different value system than theirs, a different world view, and different kinship system. As they gave to those surrounding them their literature, their knowledge of the Wisconsin environment, their art, and the lives of some of their young men in battle for the United States–so also they learned new things from their surroundings. They came to use new tools and a new technology, to rely on machines from western culture, and to build houses like western houses. Yet, some differences remained.

The following questions evolve from the stages of development of the Winnebago economic life:

1. How did the Winnebago use the environment to live?

2. What did their values, social relationships, and history have to do with each stage in their economic life?

3. What did the removals and imposition of "white man's ways" have to do with the way the Winnebago economic life became?

WINNEBAGO ECONOMIC LIFE PRIOR TO 1833 IN WISCONSIN*

Hunting

In their original habitat, hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was hunted, very few animals being taboo. So far as the author knows, the following animals only were not eaten: skunk, mink, marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows . . . and eagles.

Bow.—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

Arrows.—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma^{n} p'axe'dera*, bird arrow; *Ma'^{n}santc p^{c}a^{e}'u^{n}*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma^{n} k'etcunk cako'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai^{n} su'ra*, or *mai^{n}so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma^{n} p'a' una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground.

Traps.—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

The bear hunt.—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wana^{n}tce're*, literally "concentration

*From Paul Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe* (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian, 1923), pp. 61-71.

of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ⁿcarax* or *naiⁿwaidjo'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

> ***Description of a bear hunt.***—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'c* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.
>
> ***Description of a buffalo hunt.***—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homaⁿⁿna* (Missouri?), *Waxotcera*, Iowa and *Wadjokdjadjera*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They

would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):

Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt, he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

Pigeon hunt.—The pigeons are "chief" birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20 in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted in the following manner. Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather.

Fishing

In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*woca'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma^{n}nuxini xini*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

THE ECONOMY OF THE WINNEBAGO AT BLUE EARTH: 1855*

In 1846 the Winnebagoes were forced to make another treaty, by which they finally ceded and sold to the United States "all right, title, interest, claim, and privilege to all lands heretofore occupied by them"; and accepted as their home, "to be held as other Indian lands are held," a tract of 800,000 acres north of St. Peter's, and west of the Mississippi. For this third removal they were to be paid $190,000–$150,000 for the lands they gave up, and $40,000 for relinquishing the hunting privilege on lands adjacent to their own. Part of this was to be expended in removing them, and the balance was to be "left in trust" with the government at 5 percent interest.

This reservation proved unsuited to them. The tribe was restless and discontented; large numbers of them were continually roaming back to their old homes in Iowa and Wisconsin, and in 1855 they gladly made another treaty with the government, by which they ceded back to the United States all the land which the treaty of 1846 had given them, and took in exchange for it a tract eighteen miles square on the Blue Earth River. The improved lands on which they had been living, their mills and other buildings, were to be appraised and sold to the highest bidder, and the amount expended in removing them, subsisting them, and making them comfortable in their new home. This reservation, the treaty said, should be their "permanent home"; and as this phrase had never before been used in any of their treaties, it is to be presumed that the Winnebagoes took heart at hearing it. They are said to have "settled down quietly and contentedly," and have gone to work immediately, "ploughing, planting, and building."

The citizens of Minnesota did not take kindly to their new neighbors. "An indignation meeting was held; a petition to the President signed; and movements made, the object of all which was to oust these Indians from their dearly-purchased homes," says the Report of the Indian Commissioner for 1855.

Such movements, and such a public sentiment on the part of the population surrounding them, certainly did not tend to encourage the Winnebagoes to industry, or to give them any very sanguine hopes of being long permitted to remain in their "permanent home." Nevertheless they worked on, doing better and better every year, keeping good faith with the whites and with the government, and trusting in the government's purpose and power to keep faith with them. The only serious faults with which they could be charged were drunkenness and gambling, and both of these they had learned of the white settlers. In the latter they had proved to be apt scholars, often beating professional gamblers at their own game.

They showed the bad effects of their repeated removals, also, in being disposed to wander back to their old homes. Sometimes several hundred of them would be roaming about in Wisconsin. But the tribe, as a whole, was industrious, quiet, always peaceable and loyal, and steadily improving. [They took hold in earnest of the hard work of farming; some of them who could not get either horses or ploughs actually breaking up new land with hoes, and getting fair crops out of it.] Very soon they began to entreat to have their farms settled on them individually, and guaranteed to them for their own; and the government, taking advantage of this desire on their part, made a treaty with them in 1859, by which part of their lands were to be "allotted" to individuals in "severalty," as they had requested, and the rest were to be sold, the proceeds to be partly expended in improvements

*Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (Boston: Roberts, 1886), pp. 223-227.

on their farms, and partly to be "left in trust" with the government. This measure threw open hundreds of thousands of acres of land to white settlers, and drew the belt of greedy civilization much tighter around the Indians. Similar treaties to this had been already made with some of the Sioux tribes and with others. It was evident that "the surplus land occupied by the Indians was required for the use of the increasing white population," and that it was "necessary to reduce the reservations."

There is in this treaty of 1859 one extraordinary provision: "In order to render unnecessary any further treaty engagements or arrangements with the United States, it is hereby agreed and stipulated that the President, with the assent of Congress, shall have full power to modify or change any of the provisions of former treaties with the Winnebagoes, in such manner and to whatever extent he may judge to be necessary and expedient for their welfare and best interest."

It is impossible to avoid having a doubt whether the chiefs and headmen of the Winnebago tribe who signed this treaty ever heard that proviso. It is incredible that they could have been so simple and trustful as to have assented to it.

Prospects now brightened for the Winnebagoes. With their farms given to them for their own, and a sufficient sum of money realized by the sale of surplus lands to enable them to thoroughly improve the remainder, their way seemed open to prosperity and comfort. They "entered upon farming with a zeal and energy which gave promise of a prosperous and creditable future."

"Every family in the tribe has more or less ground under cultivation," says their agent. He reports, also, the minutes of a council held by the chiefs, which tell their own story:

> When we were at Washington last winter, we asked our Great Father to take $300,000 out of the $1,100,000, so that we could commence our next spring's work. We do not want all of the $1,100,000, only sufficient to carry on our improvements. This money we ask for we request only as a loan; and when our treaty is ratified, we want it replaced. We want to buy cattle, horses, ploughs, and wagons; and this money can be replaced when our lands are sold. We hope you will get this money: we want good farms and good houses. Many have already put on white man's clothes, and more of us will when our treaty is ratified.
>
> Father, we do not want to make you tired of talk, but hope you will make a strong paper, and urgent request of our Great Father in respect to our wishes."

In 1860 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs writes:

> The progress of the Winnebagoes in agricultural growths is particularly marked with success. There have been raised by individuals as high as sixty acres of wheat on a single farm. . . . The agent's efforts have been directed to giving to each Indian his own allotment of land. . . . Wigwams are becoming as scarce as houses were two years ago. . . . All Indians who had horses ploughed and farmed their own lands. . . . The Indians were promised that new and comfortable houses should be built for them. The treaty not yet being ratified, I have no funds in my hands that could be made applicable to this purpose. . . . The greater part of the Indians have entreated me to carry out the meaning of the commissioner on his visit here, and the reasons for my not doing so do not seem comprehensible to them. . . . The school is in a flourishing condition."

In 1861 the commissioner writes that the allotment of lands in severalty to the Winnebagoes has

been "substantially accomplished"; but that the sales of the remaining lands have not yet been made, owing to the unsettled condition of the country, and therefore the funds on which the Indians were depending for the improvements of their farms have not been paid to them. They complain bitterly that the provisions of the treaty of 1859 have not been fulfilled. "It has been two years and a half since this treaty was concluded," says the agent, "and the Indians have been told from one season to another that something would be done under it for their benefit, and as often disappointed, till the best of them begin to doubt whether anything will be done. . . . The Indians who have had their allotments made are 'clamoring for their certificates.'"

Reading Questions:

1. How did the Minnesota environment affect how the Winnebagoes lived?

2. How did the Winnebago values, social relationships, and history affect the economic circumstances of the tribe as they made their home along the Blue Earth River?

3. What did this removal and the imposition of "white man's ways" have to do with the way the Winnebago economic life became?

THE NEBRASKA WINNEBAGO ECONOMY [IN WISCONSIN] *

We know that the Winnebago put up their winter food, got it ready in the summer, drying berries, and picking the roots of some kind of edible root. Their life style, their way of life, was so much a part of them that regardless of where they went they would still live the same way. So when they came to Nebraska, they had the same style of life. This river is the only big water that we have near here, so it was used for travel, up and down the river, and also for fishing. In winter time there was a lot of trapping going on. These rivers were traveled on with a dugout boat. They were hollowed out of logs. They either had tools to do it or they burnt out the logs and scraped the charcoal out very carefully so that it would be a good sound boat.

The Winnebagoes raised corn, squash, potatoes, etc.–and then we had also in this country what they call Indian potatoes.

The river was very important to the people, and whenever they first came here they hired out to the farmers over in Iowa. I remember them talking about my grandfather. He was one of the guys that always was over there every week and maybe every weekend he would go over there because they were having these little town fairs and so forth and he used to like to run. He would be over there challenging all the farmers to a foot race and so forth. He was quite a guy to go over there.

This country was infested with rattlesnakes, and in order to get rid of them they imported bull snakes from Iowa–to combat the rattlesnake population over here. So you don't hardly ever find a rattlesnake over here. I think they have been squeezed out by the bull snakes.

There wasn't too much difference between the life style of the Wisconsin and the Nebraska Winnebagoes [in the 1860's]. When they have gardens, they take care of their gardens; they dry their corn, and store their corn for winter. . . .

The settlement of this area was rather haphazard. Any place you want to settle your dwelling you could because this was tribal land at the time. In 1887 came the act where the land was being surveyed, divided up. They would say: "Joh Big Horse, he can live over here, and that is your place, Big Bear you stay here. You people up there, the priests, you move over there because this is somebody else's land. You move over there." This broke up the community. Everybody had to move onto their allotments.

Well, in the overall picture to me, I see that the Allotment Act was a method by which the Indian supposedly was to get on his own, and they were going to overnight teach him how to farm and make a white man out of him. Either that, or if an Indian doesn't farm, he was going to be separated from his property in the near future [i.e., by white takeover of Indian trust land]. This was a setting for which most of the land now had been sold and we didn't have too many acres left. Those allotments are kind of checkerboarded now on the reservations . . . would be little black spots on a white sheet of paper just Indian land ownership. So, the Allotment Act also, I take it, was a violation of the treaty. Whereas the treaty said, "This is your land forever," they [the government] said "King's X" and took the land back and they cut it all up in pieces and began to tell

*Personal narrative by Felix White, Sr.

individual Indians where to live and so forth. I think that was one of the first violations of our treaty. But I clam that was a wrong thing to do because the other tribes in the Southwest have their land in common and they still have their entire reservation. Where you divide it up, it is like the old Roman tactics, divide and conquer.

[White later talked of the 1920's as being a good period economically for the Winnebagoes.]

Reading Questions:

1. Apply the three questions on page 43 to White's narrative. [Felix White, Sr. is a contemporary Winnebago elder.]

2. Consider what the Allotment Act and the development of the concept of private property did to the Winnebago clan structure.

A CONTEMPORARY GLANCE AT THE WINNEBAGO ECONOMY*

Generally speaking, the economic activity of Native Americans today is very similar to that of non-Indian Americans. For example, a graduate of the Winnebago, Nebraska, high school often enrolls in some institution of higher learning, takes a full-time job in a nearby urban community off the reservation (many are employed by Iowa Beef Packers Association in Dakota City, Nebraska), is employed in reservation industries, enlists in the U.S. armed forces, or remains on the reservation to be employed by the federal government in the construction and maintenance of roads, housing projects, and other public works. High school and post-high school students can usually find summer employment in construction, government programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps, or as farm workers (e.g., corn detasslers, bean-walkers, hayers, etc.). The older, more established people are involved in tribal jobs (secretaries, Indian Center workers, teacher aides, cooks, custodians, police, health services, etc.), and farming.

It should be noted that only two Indians on the entire Winnebago Reservation in northeast Nebraska actually farm their own land. The rest is leased out to non-Indians through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For his leased land, the Indian landowner receives an annual cash rent, the amount of which is determined by the BIA.

Hunting, fishing, trapping, and berry-picking are no longer considered essential economic pursuits, but rather are done as an activity from which one derives a certain amount of pleasure.

To obtain more specific information on the current economy of the Winnebago Indian Tribe you may wish to write to the Nebraska Department of Economic Development, 301 Centennial Mall South, Lincoln, Nebraska 68509 or to the Nebraska Indian Commission, 301 Centennial Mall South, Lincoln, Nebraska 68509.

*Information obtained from personal interviews with Mr. Wade Miller, Macy, Nebraska, and Mr. Delmar Free, Winnebago, Nebraska.

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